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The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The Education of an American Minority

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, *Issue Editor*

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JANUARY 1939

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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No. 5

THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGRO SCHOOLS

FRED MCCUISTION

Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges

Public education in the United States is a tremendous enterprise. Thirty million pupils are enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools each year. The public contributes approximately \$2,500,000,000 in annual taxes to support the enterprise. The public-school plants and equipment are valued at seven billion dollars, and require a teaching staff of one million.

A comparison of the cost of education with the cost of other governmental functions can be made from the table on page 258.

The tabulation shows a marked decrease in the cost of education, both in amount and in per cent of total expenditures. The large increase of the 1936 budget over that of 1930 was due chiefly to relief expenditures under public welfare, agriculture and home-owners' aid, and to the \$1,800,000,000 item of defense expended as bonuses to World War veterans.

Since the State is considered the responsible unit of administration and support of education, the United States really has forty-eight independent systems of education with no responsibility to

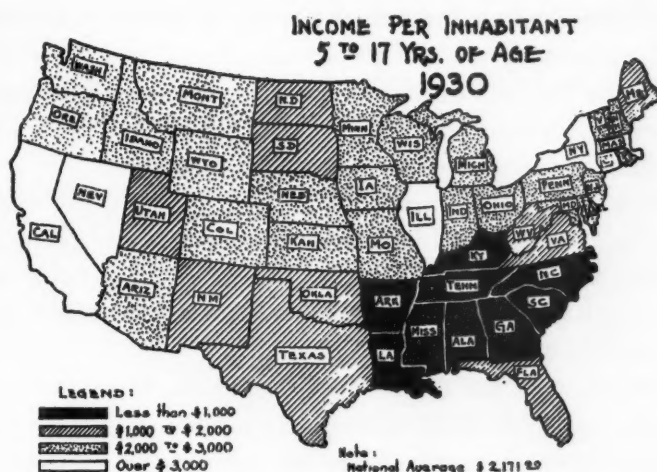
EXPENDITURE FROM TAXES AND LOANS—FEDERAL, STATE, AND
LOCAL—1930-1936

<i>Purpose</i>	1930		1936	
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Education	\$ 2,410,000,000	22.2	\$ 2,156,000,000	13.9
Public welfare and relief	617,000,000	5.7	3,176,000,000	20.4
Defense	1,262,000,000	11.6	3,114,000,000*	20.0
Rural highways . . .	1,680,000,000	15.5	1,344,000,000	8.6
Agriculture aid (Federal) . . . . .	.....	...	605,000,000	3.9
Home-owners' aid (Federal) . . . . .	.....	...	215,000,000	1.4
Public works	1,062,000,000	9.8	1,235,000,000	7.9
Debt service (Federal)	1,213,000,000	11.2	1,153,000,000	7.4
All others	2,600,000,000	24.0	2,565,000,000	16.5
Total	\$10,844,000,000	100.0	\$15,563,000,000	100.0

* Includes \$1,800,000,000 paid as bonuses to World War veterans.

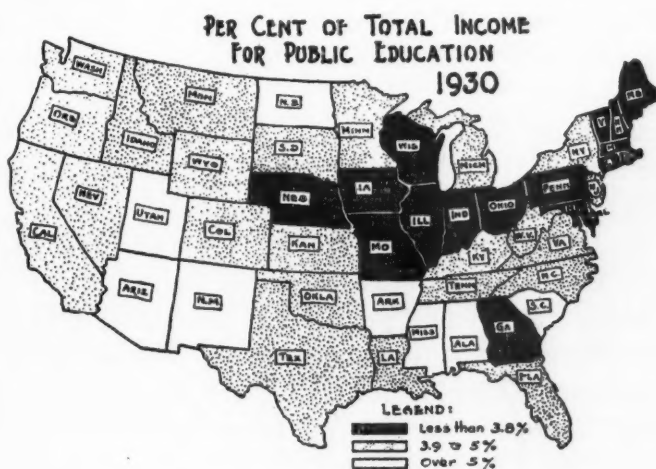
and little aid from the Federal Government. In wealth per capita total population some States have five times as much as others. The average Southern State has only half as much as the average State outside the South. In wealth back of each child of school age (5-17) there is a similar difference. The national average was \$10,200 as compared with \$4,900 in thirteen Southern States in 1930.

Due to the uneven distribution of wealth and national resources, great differences exist among the States and regions of the United States in their ability to support education or other public functions. Perhaps the most equitable measure of a State's *ability* to support a program of education is the total annual income per child of school age. The following map gives this measure for the various States and regions.



The heavy shading shows that all of the nine States having less than \$1,000 income for each school child are in the South, and that no Southern State reaches the national average of \$2,171. The median for the Southern States was \$872.

Perhaps the most satisfactory measure of a State's *effort* to support education is the amount of its total income which it expends for education. The map below is shaded to show this effort.



The heavy shading shows that 16 of the 17 States expending less than the national average of 3.8 per cent of total income on education are the Nation's wealthiest States, while many of the poorest Southern States are expending more than 5 per cent of their income in an effort to maintain an adequate school program.

Added to the wide differences of wealth between the Southern region and other major divisions of the country is the problem of schooling three million Negro children in separate schools in the South, a task which has not been adequately met, but which is claiming more concern and support each year.

A summary of the differences in expenditures for white and Negro schools in the South shows about as wide a difference as that existing between the South and the national average. In 1930 Negro public schools in eleven Southern States received \$23,461,959 or 37 per cent of the \$63,150,011 which they would have received if all school monies had been distributed without regard to race. The South as a whole had \$240,180,180 for current expense of public schools, or 35 per cent of the \$671,351,446 which would have been available if the school funds of the Nation had been distributed equally among all States.

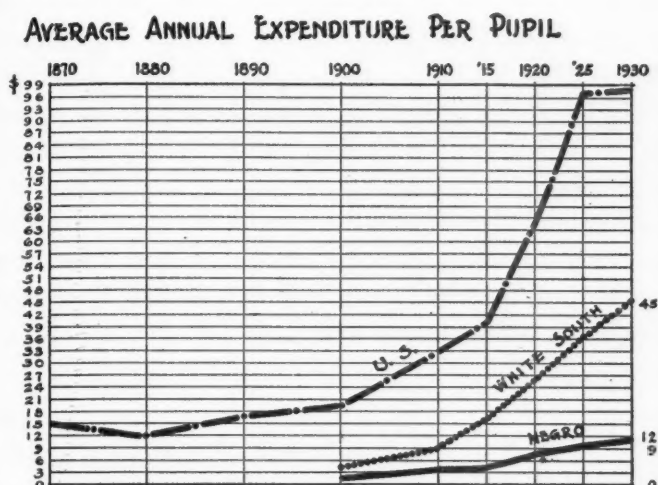
From these figures one might conclude that the uneven distribution of taxable wealth in the Nation imposes on the South about the same burden as the South imposes on the minority group because of racial prejudice.

These differences in expenditures find expression in (1) lower salaries for teachers, (2) smaller investments in plant and equipment, (3) shorter terms, (4) less transportation of pupils, etc.

In 1930 the average annual salary of a white teacher in thirteen Southern States was \$901, while the average Negro teacher received \$423. Investment in school property per pupil enrolled in fifteen Southern States was \$157 for whites and \$37 for Negroes. The length of the elementary-school term was for whites 165 days, for Negroes 134 days. Transportation in 19,289 buses was furnished 736,000 white children at a cost of \$12,578,000, and 432 buses transported

13,393 Negro pupils at a cost of \$203,793, or 2 per cent of the total expenditure.

Annual expenditures for public elementary and secondary education are indicated on the chart below.



This chart shows that the average expenditure per pupil in the United States has varied from \$15.00 in 1870 to \$99.00 in 1930; that the average for each white pupil of the South has varied from \$4.00 in 1900 to \$45.00 in 1930; and that the average expenditure for each Negro child has varied from \$1.50 in 1900 to \$12.50 in 1930. Thus the average expenditure per pupil in the South is about one third the average for the Nation. The average expended for the Negro child is about one fourth of the average for the white Southern child and one eighth of the national average.

Sources of public-school funds. School funds in a majority of the States come from four sources—Federal, State, county, and local districts. The following tabulation gives the amounts and percentages from these sources in fourteen Southern States.

A comparison of this tabulation for 1936 with one for the same States in 1930 shows a tendency toward the larger unit. The per-

SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF PUBLIC-SCHOOL REVENUE IN FOURTEEN SOUTHERN STATES—1936-1937

<i>Name of State</i>	<i>Federal</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Total</i>
Alabama	\$ 208,266.00	\$ 7,707,256.00	\$ 4,256,014.00	\$ 4,492,397.00	\$ 16,663,933.00
Arkansas	605,343.00	4,046,034.00	.....	8,637,900.00	13,289,277.00
Florida	387,242.09	11,323,249.52	4,274,758.73	6,870,183.37	22,855,433.71
Georgia	229,457.00	8,002,219.41	3,500,000.00*	8,500,000.00*	20,231,676.41
Kentucky . . . . .	.....	.....	6,588,819.02	8,766,372.51	15,355,191.53
Louisiana	270,328.89	10,537,835.00	8,297,627.50	2,671,443.65	21,777,235.04
Maryland	956,503.77	5,691,341.50	8,803,722.71	10,589,551.94	26,041,119.92
Mississippi	206,865.94	5,107,771.91	2,275,915.48	4,544,901.86	12,135,455.19
North Carolina	287,886.02	20,331,577.13	9,196,942.08	2,885,270.67	32,701,675.90
Oklahoma	586,879.96	12,767,777.04	540,173.00	15,051,300.00	28,946,130.00
South Carolina	196,979.29	6,295,201.00	789,799.00	8,465,426.00	15,747,405.29
Tennessee	243,281.66	6,086,786.64	12,159,703.14	4,922,099.19	23,411,870.63
Texas	1,364,318.88	33,666,987.00	626,814.00	33,896,453.00	69,554,572.88
Virginia	222,729.03	7,400,000.00	14,050,000.00	1,000,000.00	22,672,729.03
<i>Total</i>	\$5,766,081.53	\$138,964,036.15	\$75,360,288.66	\$121,293,299.19	\$341,383,705.53
	1.6%	40.6%	22.2%	35.6%	

* Estimated.

centage now coming from Federal sources is three times what it was. There is also a considerable increase in the percentage coming from State sources, while county and local sources have diminished.

Higher education. In addition to the funds expended for the public elementary and secondary schools, the Southern States maintain 33 public-supported colleges with plants valued at \$25,000,000 and annual budgets of \$5,000,000. The 70 private colleges are valued at \$30,000,000 and have annual budgets totaling slightly less than the State-supported colleges.

Gifts from private foundations. The progress of education in the South has been greatly augmented by gifts and counsel from the great foundations. The General Education Board has made grants of more than \$100,000,000, the Rosenwald Fund \$10,000,000. The Slater Fund, the Jeanes Fund, the Phelps Stokes Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation have added many more millions.

Some problems in school support.

1. What should be the unit of support?

Small rural communities must spend a much higher percentage of tax income for education than the large urban centers. Where minority groups are concerned it would seem that the larger and more removed the unit of support the less discrimination is practised in expenditures.

2. What should be the tax sources of school revenue?

The multiplicity of State, county, and local taxes are expensive to administer, and many of them are out of line with modern trends in taxation.

3. Should the Federal Government assume more responsibility for the support and equalization of educational opportunities for all the people?

4. Should the individual and his family assume more responsibilities?

5. How can minority groups secure a more equitable amount of school funds?

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

HORACE MANN BOND

Department of Education, Fisk University

In a recent and provocative essay,¹ Mr. Lawrence Dennis reduces the question of educational indoctrination to an academic quibble by affirming that the school has always been so engaged. The essay closes with a definition and a prophecy: "The school realizes its highest possibilities only as the instrument of a dominant elite who not only have cultural values but who also are prepared to express them in the manifold enterprises of social control. . . . The American School will come into its own when it becomes alive with the spirit of men of strong convictions and iron wills to achieve."

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest what may not, indeed, be novel intelligence to Mr. Dennis: that in the Southern United States there is no necessity to wait upon the appearance at some future time of "men of strong convictions and iron wills" to demonstrate the "highest possibilities" of the school as their instrument in realizing cultural values and social control. The concept of social forces has not been neglected in application to educational institutions in America as a whole. The economic historians have long since recognized the play of economic classes, and defined the role of the dominant economic elite, so far as the structure and function of educational foundations in the North have been concerned.

A fundamental in the interpretation of education in the South must begin with the realization that the section has never duplicated the economically determined class structure of other regions of the United States. Professor Lloyd Warner has recently² referred to the fundamental importance of social stratification in explaining

¹ "Education—the Tool of the Dominant Elite," *The Social Frontier*, January 1935, pp. 11-14. Mr. Dennis is a self-confessed proponent of an American fascism.

² "Formal Education and the Social Structure," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, May 1936, pp. 524-531; "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1936, pp. 234-238.

differences in contemporary educational institutions found in a New England as compared to an old Southern culture. Education in his New England community was dominated by "social class"; in a Mississippi county, "social class" was still important; but, immensely complicating educational structures was the presence of the Negro in the role of a subordinate caste. Educational institutions in the New England community were built to accord with the maintenance of the "social class system," while in Mississippi public schools existed to maintain both the structure of social classes and that of racial caste.

The dominant elite in the South, therefore, has had different functions from those of superior classes in other sections of the country. The elite of Massachusetts has, at least in accepted theory, been open to constant accretions from the lower orders; and the educational structures have been so arranged as to provide both for interclass mobility and the recognition of the principle of equalitarianism. The elite of Mississippi or South Carolina has had the task of maintaining these social fictions, its superiority where social and economic status is concerned, and, in addition, superiority in racial and caste status. The Massachusetts Brahmin fought his battle within the framework of social and economic superiority; the Southern planter has had to make the schools serve the purpose of achieving their "highest possibilities" in social control in a system where, to the confusion of discrete social and economic classes within his own race, was added the complication of the existence of a separate racial caste.

The history of educational institutions in the South exhibits these conflicting forces over its entire period. The dominant classes of the middle and lower Atlantic seaboard exhibited, at first, little tendency to make caste superior to class in their regulation of white and black labor. An examination of legislative ordinances regulating dependent and delinquent classes in the Colonial South indicates that apprenticing was regarded as the only educational

institution appropriate for the children of indentured white servants, and that lack of caste discrimination resulted in a situation whereby many mulatto children, equally with white, fell within these provisions. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts carried on its work of education—principally catechetical in content—among both poor whites and poor blacks, with such institutions as academies, tutors, grammar schools, and universities reserved for the dominant planting aristocracy.

The elaboration of chattel Negro slavery into an institution in which white indentured servants were a relatively unimportant portion of the labor force of the Colonies did not come until fairly well into the eighteenth century. With the extension of the plantation areas it became necessary for the elite to differentiate between their white and black slaves; and in this progressive differentiation is to be found the origin of the complicated social and educational class and caste lines which characterize all later institutions in the South.

The Colonial college in the South, as in New England, derived from the joint auspices of church and state. The sponsors of the former were a theocracy founded upon the gentry; of the latter, a theocracy imbued with the democracy of Calvinism. The first State universities in America were those of the South, and they were essentially the creation of the plantation aristocracy which looked to these State foundations as the natural resort of their own sons. Thomas Jefferson planned the University of Virginia, following the French tradition of a highly centralized educational system, as the climactic point of intellectual selection from the entire white population. The logic of the social structure never allowed the democratization of the Virginia institution to proceed beyond its original plan.

The blacks occupied in the Southern slave system the role which, in the North, was filled by a class of free white workmen. The notable development of public educational systems in the North

in the period from 1820 to 1860 came largely as the result of the activities of the working classes, joined in agitation by humanitarian leaders arising on the foundation of new industrial wealth. The quasi-feudal South produced no figures like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Orestes A. Brownson, James G. Carter, Samuel Lewis, Robert Rantoul, George Ripley, and Henry David Thoreau. The nearest approach to such a personality is to be found in Calvin Wiley of North Carolina, the only Southern State where the mid-century mark found the yeoman farmers of the Piedmont and mountain areas in partially successful revolt against the age-old domination of the lowland aristocracy.

Elsewhere in the widest expanse of the Southern territory the lower economic classes among white persons were politically powerless. Protesting that public education was a dangerous "agrarian" institution, the slave oligarchy in control of public office and power strenuously opposed the establishment of systems of tax-supported schools for the lower classes. In addition, it was objected that school taxes would have to be levied on the dominant minority for the benefit of children of other people. Where, as in Alabama, public-school funds were provided, the debates over their distribution show spirited and successful efforts on the part of the "black-belt" counties to manipulate appropriations so as to retain for semiprivate and private academies and colleges the benefits designed for "free" schools. State distributive funds available for white children in the "white" counties, where the vast majority of the white children of the State lived, hardly ever sufficed to establish an effective public-school system in ante-bellum times.

Having taken care that the interests of the dominant class should not be usurped by either suppressed white classes or the enslaved Negro caste, the planters developed an educational system for their own sons which was well designed to perpetuate the civilization of which they were a part. The "old-field" schools of the ante-bellum South, for all of their deficiencies, were not maintained for the

lower classes; they were subscription schools supplementing an extensive tutorial system. The academies, taking boys at the tender ages of eight or nine, were strictly classical. At one such school, Willington Academy in South Carolina, presided over by the great Dr. Waddell, the debating club "was an important institution, and regarded by the teacher as a very necessary part of his scholastic system, for to converse and speak in public were esteemed necessary accomplishments to Southern youths." This one small academy had as students John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, Judge Longstreet, James Bowie, and James Lewis Pettigru. Three future Congressmen were enrolled in a single year.

As the slave-owning aristocracy fashioned its educational tools to meet the purposes of the class, it found its apologists in the institutions created and supported by it. Chancellor Harper of South Carolina wrote treatises justifying slavery "in the light of social ethics." President Thomas Roderick Dew of William and Mary College argued that "It is the order of nature that the beings of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should dispose of those who are inferior. The exclusive owners of property ever have been, ever will be, and perhaps ever ought to be the virtual rulers of mankind."

We are relearning today that two clashing ideas may mean revolution, and that revolution in turn means no less of bitterness than it meant in Luther's Germany or Robespierre's France. The true nature of the Reconstruction period in the South may be better gauged if we realize that it was a period of attempted revolution, complicated because the revolutionaries sought to overturn not only long-established economic classes, but also the system of caste. Most of the interpretation of the period found in our histories is, quite obviously, the rationalizing of partisans unable to see in the conflict more than a spectacle of conflicting ethical systems. If we can, for a moment, forget that Reconstruction was "vicious," or

"noble," we may be able to glimpse the profound working of fundamental social forces beneath the superstructure of personalities and moral conceptions ordinarily presented to our cognizance.

In this task of gaining a new perspective, no institution is more helpful for analysis than the school. In a period when the American consciousness looked upon education as, perhaps, the most powerful of all agencies of social policy, struggles over educational institutions in the South mirror the nature of the social and economic classes striving for control of the section.

The Northern missionary teachers who came to the South to educate Negroes in the period after the Civil War are remembered as having been among the vilest of all mankind. Like the members of the Southern elite with whom they came into violent conflict, they, too, were members of a decadent, once dominant social class, members by blood, tradition, and formal education of the same race from which Henry Adams sprang. They found the Negro an oppressed economic class; their education sought to teach him thrift, independence of his former masters, good work habits as a free citizen, sobriety, and honesty. All of these virtues they saw as necessary to the end of creating Negroes able to survive in a competitive *laissez-faire* system. The Negro was, furthermore, a subordinate social caste; by example and by precept they sought to raise him to a plane where the only differences between men would be those of economic status. They established colleges and universities for Negroes, and for this J. L. M. Curry, himself a member of the old Southern elite and a friend to the education of Negroes, called them "misguided fanatics." The missionaries, said Curry, laid especial stress on classics and liberal culture, "to bring the race *per saltum* to the same plane with their former masters, and to realize the theory of social and political equality." This was a precise appraisal of the objectives of the Northerners. This system of education, offering to ex-slaves the forbidden fruits of a "gentleman's education," was

bound to "make all possible mischief" for a social order founded on the dominance of a plantation aristocracy within a framework of racial caste.

The Reconstruction system of education for Negroes collapsed with the compromise of 1876, when, with Northern support withdrawn, the "Rule of the Generals" began again in the South. It is true that the Reconstruction Constitutions furnished for the first time in Southern history a firm constitutional and legal basis for the extension of elementary education to the masses of both races. The first step of every conservative legislature, after wresting power from the Yankees, was to substitute a less onerous system of taxation, and so a less efficient system of public education, for the Reconstruction devices.

As it was never fully able, after the debacle of Civil War and Reconstruction, to regain completely its firm control on Southern political institutions, the elite was unable to reconstruct its educational institutions in anything approaching their former glory. The lower white classes were, like the Negroes, anxious to plumb the mysteries of the forbidden tongues in which they thought they saw the secret of the supremacy of the old master class.

A sensibility to the need for a new education designed to aid the elite maintain itself under new conditions was shown most strikingly in the final works of that man who embodies for us in retrospect the best qualities of the Southern dominant class—Robert E. Lee. At Washington College, Lee sponsored the School of Law and Equity, the School of Journalism, the School of Civil and Mining Engineering, and — prophetic gesture! — the Students' Business School.

There has been, since the Reconstruction period, a vagueness clothing Southern institutions that makes characterization almost impossible. The institutions themselves would not be so inchoate were it not for the fact that the entire social system has been, to a considerable degree, without form or structure. It is the toll that a

nation or a section must pay for democratization, or, at least, until democratization has arrived.

For, indubitably, the period since the Civil War has been, in the South, one of democratization. With the passing of the old elite has come the slow emergence of the common man, and a growing consciousness of class and condition among the great masses of yeoman whites. The other significant and opposed factor in Southern life has been the domination of the resources and energies of the section by foreign capital. Here and there industrial corporations and banks have chosen Southern leadership to implement their penetration and control of the South; but, for the most part, the hand of the native Esau has been guided by the voice of a Northern Jacob. As a result, until quite recently there has been no Southern elite derivative from the new industrialization on a scale anywhere near commensurate with that of the North.

The facts of Southern political leadership afford the finest example of the stubborn conflict between the native process of democratization for its white population, and external control in financial affairs. The generation that succeeded the "Generals" chose its leaders from its own ranks, in a period when Populist and other agrarian discontent seemed about to effervesce in fundamental economic reform. The same story may be told of each of these leaders. Once in a position of political power, the politicians ceased to concern themselves any longer with economic issues, besides nebulous attacks upon "the interests." They had discovered the technique of diverting economic unrest into racial conflict a generation before National Socialism arose in Germany.

The masses of white people in Southern States have, slowly and grudgingly, fought toward the achievement of systems of universal education for white children. How far short that effort has carried is shown by relative figures of expenditures which indicate that expenditures for the annual education of a white child in the South are less than half those found in the North or West. When these

figures are broken down by separate political units, the power of the old planting oligarchy is still evident; for in the black-belt counties, sparsely inhabited by white children, magnificent consolidated schools have arisen, supported by State funds apportioned to the local municipalities on account of the large population of Negro educables. Meanwhile, the hill counties, with no Negroes and with low taxable wealth, show an average per capita expenditure far below State and national averages. The high school is an achievement of Southern democracy, and an instrument of the process. The agitation of the Granges and Farmers' Alliances of fifty years ago shows its fruition today in the extensive investment in agricultural and mechanical colleges which frequently boast a magnificence of plant and equipment greater than that afforded by the State university, the traditional recourse of the elite.

So far as the education of Negroes at public expense is concerned, there may be seen again the conjoint influence of foreign capital and the emancipation of the white masses. There is hardly another figure in Southern history since the Civil War flavored with the essence of greatness as is that of Booker T. Washington. His life was an expression of the dominant social forces of his period. He came into national prominence in 1895 by a speech at the Atlanta Cotton States Exhibition. The speech was remarkable at the time for its eloquence and effect; today it is as remarkable as a document to the history of social forces in the South. In the speech Washington frankly appealed to what he called "the dominant class" of the South. In one sentence he gave assurance to the Southern elite that his program was not intended to violate the caste structure: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hands in all things essential to mutual progress." The other major burden of his speech was addressed to the new elite of the North: to Northern capitalists he said that the Negroes were "the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people the world has seen," who could be depended upon to "buy your surplus land, make blos-

som the waste places in your fields, and run your factories . . . without strikes or labor troubles."

In the years between 1895 and his death, in 1915, Washington saw his industrial school at Tuskegee, begun in 1881 in an abandoned church and a former shanty, grow rich and powerful through donations from the masters of American capital—Andrew Carnegie, Collis P. Huntington, H. H. Rogers, Julius Rosenwald, and others. From the old aristocracy of the South he received a blessing—there was no money to give even if his Southern patrons had wished to share with the Yankees in support of the school. With money from the one, and benisons from the other, Washington went on with his powerful personality and thorough rapport with the masses of his own people to create a great institution and a powerful tradition.

But financial support of Northern capital for private and philanthropic educational agencies has not been duplicated by a parallel support for public schools for Negroes. It is true that, by comparison with schools for white children, less money is spent for the public education of Negroes today than was spent in 1880. Property interests and caste interests have brought white taxpayers and public officials to an agreement on the lack of a necessity to furnish Negroes with a public education in any degree equal to that furnished for white children. In 1880, when Negroes constituted forty per cent of the population of Southern States, public schools for the race received twenty-five per cent of all money spent for higher educational institutions, and thirty-five per cent of all money spent for elementary education. In 1934, when Negroes were twenty-six per cent of the Southern population, the race received for its State-supported colleges three per cent of all higher education expenditures and ten per cent of all elementary-school expenditures. Apparently Civil War and Reconstruction democratized opportunity within the white caste, and future events have developed educational institutions intended and supported principally for the benefit of that caste as compared to the Negroes.

Recent developments suggest that the South is at last developing an industrial elite with sufficient financial resource to establish and control its educational institutions, as a consequence of controlling its political and social structure. The benefactions of a Duke may be the harbinger of the dominance of this new elite in a new Southern educational policy; or they may be a "sport" alien to the natural line of social and economic evolution in the section. The answer lies with the fate of that slowly developing democratization of the white population brought into view by the aftermath of Reconstruction. The next twenty-five years may establish the persisting form of control in the section; and from that determination of control we may expect to flow inevitably educational structures that are the instruments of the dominant social and economic class which creates and controls them.

THE SOCIAL SETTING OF NEGRO EDUCATION

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It is not unusual, in considering Negro problems, whether they are described as social or cultural or economic, to regard the Negro as in a dual role. In the very nature of the relationship of American Negroes to the larger society it becomes necessary for them, frequently, to live as well as to be viewed in two fairly distinct social worlds. The extent and completeness of this dualism, as defined, depend, of course, upon the section of the country in which they live. This purely geographical factor is given its real significance by the respective historical and traditional patterns of relationships between the groups in these areas. These differences in patterns of relationships have a basis in the different economic histories of the areas.

There will probably be some advantage, therefore, in beginning by discussing the economic situation of Negroes in this dual role. The advantage is chiefly psychological, however, since it means adapting the discussion to the habit of regarding the Negro in America as a separate social and economic entity. Actually, this is a highly artificial distinction. The Negro population is an organic part of the general economic organization of American life, and has been from the beginning of its history. The historical role of this group has been different from that of the majority population, but no less significant. In the very logic of the economic development of this country the inexorable tendency has been toward integration, despite the tremendous accumulation of racial sentiment and rationalizations in support of separate and fixed and inferior caste status.

It is precisely the struggle for status in this noneconomic world, says Robert E. Park, which we may call the "moral and political" world that gives rise to the phenomenon of race prejudice, and ac-

counts for that group consciousness by which Negroes can identify themselves. Race consciousness in Negroes is, and ever has been, a defense against the dangerous inferences which tend to accommodate them to an inferior status in America. Prejudice from the outside helps to preserve group solidarity.

In discussing the broad social and economic bases of Negro education in America, it is convenient and perhaps most realistic to view it in relation to several significant general trends in the development of our contemporary society.

The social and cultural problems which mark, so conspicuously, the Negro population are in large part a result of the status of slavery imposed upon them, and American Negro slavery itself was an incident of the expansion of Europe. The social and cultural lag of the South itself may, in one sense, be regarded as a result of the effort to keep this status fixed. It is the Negro question and the persistent attitude toward it that have created one of the most backward groups of poor whites anywhere in the country. Just as early agricultural America was the colony of industrial Europe for so many years, the agricultural South, in many ways, has been a colony of the industrial North and East.

Powerful currents have been influencing the total life of the South over the past half century. There have been changes in the basic economic organization and folkways of the area, changes in the institutional basis of the social life of the area, and a rapidly changing cultural life on the part of the Negro population within the area.

Beginning as an agricultural area, the South set its economy firmly in the land. It supported its agricultural structure with the institution of slavery, and built its social life, generated its social sentiments, its codes of conduct, its social morality within this framework. It placed its faith in cash crops, exportable commodities, and it raised these products by applying, virtually, the factory system to agriculture. It required no long period to set the folkways of the area within these stern economic supports. Habits of men can cry-

tallize quickly and under almost any condition in which they are required to live.

Economic truths are not always evident on the surface. Inherent in the nature of the early agricultural system of the South were dangers that could scarcely be avoided. The dominant crop was precarious. It encouraged exploitation of the soil and it stood as a barrier to technology and city growth. The system failed to accumulate capital; it was against the whole current of world development in the path of the industrial revolution. Slavery and the plantation system rested upon the backs of slaves, and starved its poor but free white men, against the logic of sound economic and social development. In the end it had to defend its economy by defending its social structure, and by giving it the stamp of divine approval. The result of the economic policy of the area has been disastrous.

The economic and social problems incident to the presence of the Negro in the social structure as it existed, and as it continues to exist, should not be minimized. The cost of separate schools, churches, and transportation facilities imposes a burden of many millions annually. The almost universal illiteracy of the Negroes at their emancipation imposed the burden of their education, as well as that of millions of unpropertied nonslave-holding whites, from the very beginning. Social and cultural institutions, such as schools, hospitals, libraries, welfare agencies, which had flourished to some extent in the North, had to be started from the base line.

But this was not all. The complex of economics, social institutions, and the Negro kept the section acutely conservative on most of the social programs that could reasonably be expected to mark advancement. Consistent with an indigenous social philosophy, it had to resist compulsory education for years, because it meant an added financial burden and threatened to unsettle the racial alignment. It had to oppose woman suffrage, because it threatened to add the unwelcome Negro woman vote, and also because it threatened to disturb the domestic role of women generally. It had to oppose

labor legislation because this would discourage factories being drawn by a plentiful market of cheap labor. It had to oppose labor organization because it threatened the free rights of employers and represented radical ideas. It had to oppose, and continues to oppose, legislation preventing child labor.

Because the region has been burdened historically with a caste system for Negroes, and a sharply defined class system for whites, it has had to tolerate, against its moral judgments, dual codes of justice and condone lynchings. It has been forced to put a ban on liberal thinking and discourage social movements of any sort which might mean the emancipation of the whole people. Its scholars and scientists who rose above the provincialism of the area, in the very recent past, have had to seek more congenial atmosphere for unshackled minds.

We have observed signs of changes in the large over recent years. Not always is this evident in direct personal relations, such as could be measured by the sudden expansion of individual Negro personalities, and the sloughing off of prejudices on the part of individual whites, but in a diffused, but unmistakable breaking of many of the old taboos, and the fixation of attention on the Negro problem as such. Recent studies show, for example, that the cotton tenancy problem, assumed for decades to be purely a Negro problem, is basically a southern problem with, actually, more white than Negro tenants and share-croppers. They show, also, that the Negroes have been moving away to the North to escape economic death in the South. They reveal that the vast wastage of the soil is not simply Negro ignorance and negligence, but, as much or more, the responsibility of those who owned, controlled, and directed the labor of the land; and only a few of these were Negroes. They show that the poverty wages simply mean no purchasing power for the people on which the industries must thrive, and that the undernourishment so prevalent means eventually and early nonproductive illness and costly death.

More significant, however, has been the development of cultural centers in the South where serious efforts have been made to approach these problems from a new angle, and not to study them sentimentally and ruefully as an inevitable "white man's burden," but as the data of the new science of human relations in the South.

The important observation of this article is that the economic predicament of the Southern Negro is bound up with the economic fate of the area. It is estimated that under present conditions the southeastern section, in which the majority of the Negroes live, will probably have no need for a million families normally employed in the production of cotton. If the cotton-picking machine is placed in successful operation, it will have no need for some two and a half million present producers and would-be producers. This threat has been sufficient to break the fixation of attention on the social aspects of the Negro problem and compel new attention to problems of the area which are basically economic.

The Negroes have sensed this fact and have been moving away to cities of the South and North in large numbers. But this, as we shall indicate, is not in itself a final solution.

The two major factors working toward an adjustment of this serious and obvious imbalance is (a) the reduction in the size of the Negro family, and (b) migration of Negroes away from the congested areas. Both of these are occurring. The Negro family is smaller than formerly, and smaller than the average white family in the South. This is due in part to higher death rates, which in turn may be reflecting the influence of economic inadequacies. Moreover, the Negro rate of migration out of the area has been greater than that of the white, although both populations have been moving out at a considerable rate. At present it is estimated that there is still an excess population of nearly two million who cannot in the present state of things be adequately supported by the land.

There is another general trend which will help us understand the economic situation of the Negro—increasing industrial expansion

and the development of technology. A significant aspect of the development of America has been its rapidly expanding and increasingly powerful industrial development. This has transformed the country from one primarily agricultural to one dominantly industrial. Industrialization carries with it the growth of cities. One hundred years ago 6.7 per cent of the population was urban and industrial; fifty years ago, 28.6 per cent. Today 56.2 per cent are urban. Urbanization amounts almost to a change of civilizations. With this early industrialization came a flood of immigration from the backward agricultural areas of Europe to reap the wealth of the new world. Just before the outbreak of the World War they were arriving at the rate of a million a year, and we could count in our population over thirty million foreign born.

Industrialization has brought with it, also, a tremendous acceleration of technology. Research laboratories and scientific departments of large corporations contributed to the promotion of these vast technological changes. Power has increased; the energy output per man has increased eight million times in the period of thirty years. This has brought about, inevitably, malfunctioning in systems of distribution of goods on a stupendous scale. It has brought, inevitably, exaggerated disproportions in the distribution of the wealth produced.

Now, where does the Negro fit into this picture? At the close of the Civil War over eighty per cent of the Negroes were peasant farmers, bound to the plantation in a unique system of tenancy which was essentially a transition device between legal slavery and free agricultural labor. They owned no land, they had no skill beyond the simple habits required to produce cotton, they were illiterate, completely dependent economically and psychologically upon the will of the landowner.

There have always been smaller rural Negro groups living in areas of greater crop diversification outside the cotton complex, though frequently on poorer soil. And there have always been some

urban Negro families, composed of domestics out of the household slave tradition; of free Negroes, who, like all other marginal men, could best survive in cities: of artisans, out of the leased slave artisan tradition; and of unskilled migrants from rural sections.

The significance of the changing patterns of the Negro population may be said to be marked statistically in the rates of urbanization. As late as 1890 the Negro population was eighty per cent rural; by 1920 the percentage had dropped to 66.0, and by 1930 to 56.3. At the present rate of urbanization this population will be more urban than rural in 1940. The urbanization rate of Negroes at present exceeds that of the white population.

When the pressure of immigrant labor on the industrial jobs of the North was removed by the outbreak of the World War, the little settlements in northern States bulged suddenly at an enormous rate. From 1910 to 1920 the Negro population of Ohio increased 67.1 per cent; New York, 49.9 per cent; Illinois, 67.1 per cent; and Michigan, 251.0 per cent. Over the forty-year period 1890 to 1930 the rural Negro population increased only 11.5 per cent, while the urban population increased 250.7 per cent.

These Negroes have gone into the existing industries of the North and South, chiefly into iron and steel works, meat packing, railway maintenance, coal mining, and construction. About 70 per cent of them are still in unskilled positions. They have passed through the serious crises of readjustment to wage labor from a crop-sharing or nonmoney economy. As marginal workers they have been exposed not only to the fluctuations of business cycles, but to the drastic inroads of machinery.

The significant recent changes in Negro industrial development have been marked by the disappearance of characteristic "Negro jobs." Incidentally, this invasion of "Negro jobs" has meant a breaking of the caste structure by the white workers themselves. The rapid introduction of machinery into industry has resulted in displacements in mining, road building, brick making, excavating,

which have disorganized the hod-carrying industry and threatens, among other fields, cotton picking.

Unskilled labor has been most seriously affected by machinery and by the industrial changes, and the largest proportions of Negro workers (75 per cent or more) are unskilled. The changes tended at first to place white and Negro workers more acutely in competition for the same jobs, so long as race was given greater value than class. The rates of unemployment, as a result, have been consistently higher for Negroes. But the situation is by no means a static one. There has been absorption of a fair measure of Negroes in new lines over a wider occupational range. A recent study of the Office of Negro Affairs of the Department of the Interior shows the median earnings of Negro skilled male workers in Atlanta to be \$14.40 per week, and skilled female workers, \$6.53. In Chicago the Negro skilled male workers had median weekly earnings of \$18.77 and the women \$13.37. Another study showed Negro college graduates earning a median annual salary of \$2,089 (male, 2,326; female, 1,750).

One of the most interesting features of this transition of Negro and white from an informal personal-relations basis to a new and impersonal technological era deserves mention. In certain areas, and in the South particularly, there have been observed pronounced clashes of social and racial traditions with this new technology. A useful example of this can be found in the tobacco-manufacturing industry, one of the oldest in America, and, at the same time, one of the most powerful monopolies in the South. The Negroes have been a part of it from the early beginnings.

In the early period of the tobacco industry the classes had all the features and limitations of a caste. New conditions inherent in the industry itself and changes in the formal status of the Negro workers have created conditions under which typical economic classes have developed. A modern industry is too complex and changes too

rapidly to sustain a caste system. A result is that new mores are crystallizing, not along racial, but along class and occupational lines.

Still another significant general trend worth noting in this broad picture is that of the development of a proletariat in the United States. The frontier psychology is disappearing with the fading of the frontier. There was a time, not so long ago, when every individual felt that he had the right to expect to rise to a position of power and affluence. It was a part of the tradition to accept unquestioningly the philosophy of individualism and equal opportunity.

A Harvard economist and a sociologist not so long ago completed a study of American business leaders. They got their information from eight thousand of the biggest of these business men. Their findings are most significant in the light of our firm belief in the principle of equality of opportunity. These great business men virtually constitute a caste in our democratic society. Does the farmer's boy or the rail splitter have the equal opportunity to elevate himself to this position of power? Only twelve per cent of these men had come from farmer families, and only ten per cent from laborers' families.

The world is settling down, to quote a famous student of society. It is becoming painfully apparent to workers in particular that their chances of becoming anything else but workers are getting increasingly limited. For the first time in American history labor is becoming really class conscious. The old craft union was not class conscious; but the newer industrial unions seem more definitely to be. America is developing a proletariat. This has profound significance for the racial situation, as is evidenced in the continual breaking of color lines in the interest of common class and occupational interests.

Two important developments may be cited here because they involve the economic status of the Negro, by way of pointing out the relationship of the Negro group to these larger currents of change.

In the South the focus of industrialism has been in iron and steel around Birmingham. Here one major attraction for the industries has been low labor costs, the absence of labor organization, and proximity to raw materials. There are in this area 20,000 Negro coal miners, about 3,500 ore miners, and some 15,000 iron and steel workers. These Negro workers have been from forty to eighty per cent of all workers engaged in mining and iron and steel work. As a generally unexpected recent development, these workers have been active in labor-union activities, and, along with white workers who recognized their importance in the field, have succeeded in impressing their condition upon employers. Years of fruitless work in racially separated labor organizations brought no result. Over the past four years of energetic union organization there has been an increase in membership to about 35,000 members, of which number fully 25,000 are Negroes, and in this there are over one hundred mixed unions.

The new development in the labor movement is interesting because it has followed broadly the general industrial-organization lines. Negro workers are now recognizing in the C.I.O., the most strategic weapon for their advance as a class. It means for them the abolition of economic segregation. They know that they will perhaps never rise to the level of wealth which once held the interest of their dreams. In these new organizations they are office holders as well as members, and their numbers are increasing. Even the Negro "middle class" hails this new tendency as the salvation of the Negro worker. The Negro National Bar Association said:

The present national effort of the Committee on Industrial Organization toward organization of American workers into industrial unions represents a not to be neglected opportunity for Negro workers to become an integral part of the great body of organized labor in the United States, and thus to advance the status of Negro workers as has never been possible before.

Today there are over 100,000 Negro members of the C.I.O. In New York a recent study, by Franklin, revealed that in 1935, of

242,794 members, 39,574, or 9.3 per cent, were Negroes. This contrasts strikingly with 1928, when only 3.8 per cent of the organized workers in the city were Negroes. The whole psychology of the Negro worker has changed. No longer are they the innocent strike breakers who could well justify their behavior as necessary for survival. They are frequently not only the basic support of strike activities, but take a leading role in them.

Organization has not been confined to the urban Negro entirely. Very much the same pattern has been followed by white and Negro share-croppers in Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee. Frankly accepting themselves as share-croppers and laborers, and in the face of constantly receding status as owners, they now seek jointly their security as farm labor. Over 10,000 are members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. A young minister, down in Mississippi, is directing one of the most extraordinary agricultural and social experiments in the country. The Delta Cooperative Farm is not only experimenting in collective agricultural development, but in collective racial progress, within the social mores of the section.

The question arises what factors are operating that might be regarded as promising for the future. In any general stock-taking, it is dispiriting to Negro group pride when it surveys its assets in terms of accumulated wealth. The Negro's wealth cannot be counted as the possessions of a few individuals, which is truly significant; nor can it be counted in deposits in Negro banks, whose combined resources might be a single account with one of the great financial institutions of the country. The Negro in America is important as a *producer* of wealth rather than as a *possessor* of wealth. The taxes he pays are significant, but the wealth he produces on which taxes are paid is truly important. They may have some pertinence to arguments regarding the greater support of Negroes from tax funds.

Negro statesmen and politicians are numerically of little importance. The few men who hold office do not hold the major offices. However, the Negro wields considerable power in the United

States. In those centers where he has settled in the North, he is, and continues to be, an active force. On the other hand, the passive Negro vote may be said to have had the effect of contributing to social conservatism and even reaction. On the allocation of representation, the South gets its law makers on the basis of its Negro population. Whether the Negro votes or not he is counted in the allocation of representation.

The Negro's contribution to the building of the present America has been of value and importance, but the tendency to point to individual achievement as the principle of value has minimized his real contribution. The Negro as a group has produced, and continues to produce, cotton accounting for one fifth of America's exports; he has done the dirty work of America for two hundred and forty years; he has contributed to America's art forms, but this has not been accomplished by *a Negro*, but by *the Negroes*.

In terms of Negro group morale, and education, it seems sound and reasonable to suggest for the future educational equality as citizens; political participation and political independence; increase in scientific mindedness; moral preparation against the wastes of group transition to a machine civilization; control of population; increase of communication with other groups, as a condition of sharing higher levels of the culture; coöperative enterprise to overcome the handicap of lack of wealth; and a joining of forces with other minorities for security, and for advancing the broad social frontier of the American common man.

The passing of sheer mass labor as an element in our civilization has forced up the sphere of human striving into another level—a sphere in which social intelligence and adaptation and creative enterprise, in a new moral framework, take the place of simple brute labor, good as this once was as a principle of living.

The changes in American industrial and agricultural life have affected the Negro's economic role profoundly. The careers for which these workers were destined are changed in character. They

are still the marginal men in industry and agriculture, and their new fate rests largely upon their ability to make prompt and effective adjustment to these changes.

By virtue of the fact that the position of the American Negro is today more acute than that of the rest of the population, he has a greater spur to control and self-correction as a part of, or in anticipation of, broad institutional changes. The ablest minds of the general population may move off from their own stagnant masses into a wider array of vocational interests. Circumstance turns back most of the more fortunate Negroes to the masses themselves, as professionals and as teachers, to add ferment, and to step-up the process of civilization. No more profound service to the future of this group is possible than that of carrying back to the source new kinds of learning; in teaching the techniques of coöperative living and enterprise, as the most effective compensation for minority status; in conditioning the youth of the new masses to accuracy and precision, as a device against a loose, uncertain culture; in teaching new skills and a basic technical competency, as a means of keeping in stride with a technical age.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE

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The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools accredited thirty-six Negro four-year colleges in 1938. The data of this study were drawn from the reports on which these ratings were based. The reports were for the scholastic year 1936-1937 supplemented in a few cases by data for 1935-1936 and 1937-1938. The reports were carefully edited to ensure consistency and comparability of the data.

Eighteen of the accredited colleges were classified by the Southern Association as Class A¹ and eighteen as Class B. Of the twenty-six accredited private colleges, fifteen are classified as Class B and eleven as Class A.

In addition to the schools included in this study there are a large number of schools within the area of the Southern Association which are not accredited by the Association, either because of failure to apply for accreditation or inability to meet the requirements. It may be noted that of the ten four-year land-grant colleges in the area of the Southern Association, five receive a Class A rating, two receive a Class B rating, and only three are nonaccredited. The only two-year land-grant college in the area (Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical) is rated as a Class A junior college. The land-grant schools as a group seem to have higher ratings than private colleges, since more of the private colleges are Class B than are Class A and, in addition, there are fairly large numbers of nonaccredited private schools. The advisability of eliminating or improving some of these nonaccredited schools has been treated elsewhere, and will not be discussed here. This report will concern itself with the accredited schools.

¹ Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College are treated throughout this study as a single school.

ENROLLMENT

The schools vary considerably in size, ranging from two schools with less than 200 enrolled to four schools with over 1,000. The average enrollment of all schools was 600. The average enrollment of liberal-arts colleges accredited by the North Central Association was 1,052 in 1933-1934. Of these schools, those publicly controlled had an average enrollment of 2,295, while privately controlled colleges had an average enrollment of 734. The ten public Negro colleges had an average enrollment of 870 while the twenty-six private colleges had an enrollment of 496. Average enrollment in publicly controlled Negro colleges was, thus, only slightly more than one third the average for corresponding colleges accredited by the North Central Association, while the private Negro colleges had enrollments nearly two thirds those of private colleges in the North Central Association study.

FINANCIAL STATUS

All of the schools spent over \$15,000 for educational purposes in the year preceding the report. There was considerable variation in these expenditures and this variation was due not only to the size of the school, since educational expenditures per student show relatively more variation than total educational expenditures. Two schools spent less than \$40 per student while one school spent over \$240. It is very improbable that adequate instruction can be maintained on educational expenditures as low as \$40 per student. Comparison with expenditures for elementary- and secondary-school education might be illuminating.

In 1936, the public schools of the United States spent \$51.41 per pupil in average daily attendance for supervisors', principals', and teachers' salaries alone.² The single item of instructional salaries per pupil was thus larger in elementary and secondary schools than the

² *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934-1936*. Washington, D.C.: United States Office of Education, 1937, Bulletin No. 2.

per student expenditures of seven accredited Negro colleges. Total current expenditures per pupil were \$74.30 for the public schools of the United States in 1936. Fourteen of the accredited Negro colleges (nearly half) including three Class A colleges spent less than this amount per student.

The quality of instruction must inevitably be poor in colleges spending less for instruction than is spent per pupil in elementary and secondary schools. It may be noted that the colleges in the present study are a selected group and educational expenditures in some of the nonaccredited schools may well be below even \$20 per student.

In colleges in general in the United States student fees constitute about one half the educational expenditures, the remainder of these expenditures being paid with income from other sources. For twenty of the Negro colleges (55 per cent) student fees were more than one half of the educational expenditures. In six of the schools student fees actually exceeded educational expenditures. In comparison with normal college procedure in the United States, these six schools were certainly overcharging for educational services supplied.

Endowments of the Negro colleges remain inadequate. Twenty-three of the colleges or 63.9 per cent derived less than 10 per cent of all income from endowment sources. If we deduct the colleges which are publicly supported, thirteen of the twenty-six private colleges receive less than 10 per cent of all income from endowment.

Particularly in times of general economic depression, a college must be assured of stable income if it is to maintain and expand its educational facilities. While endowment is not the only source of stable income and while it also tends to shrink in periods of depression, due to decline in security values, shrinkage in income from other sources (except tax support) is more serious. A number of schools with meager endowments would probably have been forced to close completely had it not been for Federal aid to students (NYA assistance).

The public colleges seem in general to have improved their standings in the past four years to a greater extent than the private colleges. Since 1934, the Southern Association has accredited ten schools as Class A colleges (in addition to the eight schools accredited as Class A prior to 1934). Of these ten schools, six are publicly supported. It may be significant that one of the four private colleges (Dillard University) accredited as Class A since 1934 is a result of a merger of two small schools, along the lines of repeated recommendations in former surveys that such mergers be undertaken. The rapid growth of Dillard University (as well as a similar growth in Atlanta University) seems amply to justify the merger.

Another school which has made extremely rapid progress in recent years is Xavier University. This school has been very rapidly developed under the sponsorship of the Catholic church. While other denominations have scattered their funds among a number of small colleges, the Catholic church has achieved notable success in the field of Negro education by concentrating its efforts on this single school. There is, of course, a special factor favoring this concentration in the fact that the proportion of Catholics in the Negro population of New Orleans is relatively large. Xavier University first opened its college department in 1925 and, in the short period of twelve years, has outdistanced schools with a much longer history of work in the field of higher education.

Several schools derive substantial parts of their incomes from "continuing" gifts and grants. Two schools obtained between 80 to 90 per cent of their income from this source. Two additional schools obtain between 70 and 80 per cent of their income from continuing gifts and grants. It should be remembered that denoting a gift or grant as "continuing" may be in many cases more an expression of optimism than of objective fact. Continuance of a gift or grant is inevitably dependent upon the financial status of the donor. Most of the continuing gifts and grants are derived from church bodies whose financial outlook in recent years has been exceedingly du-

bious. In more than one case rather abrupt withdrawal of church support has forced institutions to find other revenue sources (usually an appeal has been made to the large educational foundations) or close their doors.

EXPENDITURES FOR THE NATURAL SCIENCES

The schools seem to spend about the same amounts for chemistry and biology. The median expenditure for biology is very slightly higher (\$450 compared with \$442 for chemistry), but, on the other hand, one school spends less than \$100 for biology, while all of the schools reporting their expenditures spend at least \$100 annually for chemistry.

Physics, however, is a relatively neglected field. Median annual expenditures for physics are only \$164. Eight schools spend less than \$100 annually, and no school spends over \$600. There is much other evidence to indicate the relative neglect of physics in Negro colleges. For example, only sixteen teachers in all thirty-six colleges report physics as a major teaching subject while sixteen additional give it as a secondary field. This makes 32 persons giving physics instruction in the 36 colleges. There is thus not even one physics instructor for every college, even when the individuals are considered who teach physics along with other subjects.

In contrast to physics, 55 teachers report chemistry as their major teaching field while 63 report biology as their major field. It is probable that all the schools are equipped to give at least one course in biology and in chemistry, but some schools are completely without any provision for instruction in the third major natural science.

LIBRARIES

Since 1936, schools reporting to the Southern Association have indicated their holdings of books on a standard reference book list containing 506 items. Four schools reported having less than 50 of these. The average for all schools was 105.24. Three schools received fewer than 50 periodicals, while 5 schools received over 150. The

median for 34 schools reporting this item was 83.33 and the average was 95.59. The average for Class A schools was 116.81 and for Class B schools 67.67. Liberal-arts colleges accredited by the North Central Association received on the average 101.4 periodicals.³ The Class A colleges exceed this average while the Class B colleges are considerably below it.

Median annual expenditures for books are \$1,350. Average expenditures per student are \$6.04 for the Class A colleges but only \$3.16 for the Class B colleges. Average annual expenditures for books of liberal-arts colleges accredited by the North Central Association were \$2,467 (\$3,981 for publicly controlled colleges and \$2,264 for privately controlled colleges).⁴

Four colleges added less than 300 books to their libraries during the fiscal year preceding their reports, while four added over 1,000 volumes. It seems probable that, regardless of enrollment, a library must add a certain number of volumes annually if it is to maintain working efficiency. Here again the fields of instruction and the previous holdings are important determining circumstances, but it seems likely that a certain minimum increment will be necessary in any field whatsoever. The disadvantages of small colleges are brought out markedly when the library is considered. Certain volumes must be held by the library regardless of the enrollment in the college. A larger school can frequently give efficient library service with holdings no more extensive than those necessary to a school one half its size.

FACULTY

In one school, 46 per cent of the faculty have Ph.D. degrees or the equivalent. Thirteen of the schools or 36.1 per cent report no teachers with doctor's degrees. Of 1,086 teachers in all 36 colleges (persons devoting less than 10 per cent of their time to teaching are omit-

³North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *Revised Manual of Accrediting*, Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, 1938, Section V, Table 11.

⁴*Ibid.*

ted from this number), 75 or 6.9 per cent held Ph.D. degrees or the equivalent.

Fifty-one or 4.7 per cent of the Negro teachers had no degrees and 263 or 24.2 per cent had bachelor's degrees only. In a study of 56 institutions of higher education in the area of the North Central Association, there were 203 teachers with no degrees out of 3,889, or 5.2 per cent, and over one fourth of the teachers had bachelor's degrees only.⁵ These figures approximate closely those for the Negro colleges.

Most of the persons with no degrees were in the vocational fields of home economics, agriculture, etc., where advanced training is not a necessary prerequisite to efficiency. However, many of the teachers with no training beyond the bachelor's degree were in such fields as English, education, and psychology, etc., where advanced training is certainly to be considered desirable for persons giving instruction at a college level.

In general the level of training for the schools seems to have notably improved since the report of McCuiston in 1932.⁶ At that time, he reported out of 715 teachers in four-year accredited Negro colleges 240 or 33.6 per cent with bachelor's degrees only, compared with 24.2 per cent for the present study.

The per cent of teachers with doctor's degrees was only 4.1 per cent in McCuiston's study compared with 6.9 per cent in 1937. The percentage with master's degrees had increased from 51.5 to 56.4. There is evidently a considerable improvement in the formal training level of the faculties of the Negro colleges.

Of the 1,086 teachers, 324 or 29.8 per cent had less than nine months (one academic year) of graduate training. Twenty-five or 2.3 per cent had over 45 months of graduate training. The average number of months of graduate training was 15.9 months, somewhat

⁵ M. E. Haggerty, *The Faculty*. Vol. II, *The Evaluation of Higher Institutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 64.

⁶ Fred McCuiston, *Higher Education of Negroes* (Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1933), p. 30.

lower than the average (21.69) for teachers in accredited colleges of the North Central Association.⁷

Most of the teachers had had their training at schools maintaining relatively high standards. Thirty and four-tenths per cent did most of their graduate work at large white private colleges.⁸ An additional 25.4 per cent received their training at State universities. Most State universities maintain rather high levels of graduate instruction and the graduate instruction in private colleges listed is, of course, of high quality. We may say, then, that 55.8 per cent or over half of the group had had graduate training at schools of first rank. Nearly 20 per cent of the group had training at white schools other than those listed. Most of these schools, while not of the rank of the schools listed or of the State universities, are accredited institutions maintaining reputable scholastic standards. A few of the teachers (2.0) reported training in foreign universities. Most of those with foreign training are in the field of foreign languages. Sixty-three or 5.8 per cent of the group received their graduate training in Class A Negro colleges, principally Fisk, Howard, and Atlanta Universities. Five teachers report graduate work at schools obviously not equipped to give such instruction, three doing their work at private Class B Negro colleges, one at a public Class B Negro college, and one at a nonaccredited college.

In the 36 colleges, 763 persons were devoting 100 per cent of their time to teaching. Teaching loads varied considerably. Fourteen teachers or 1.8 per cent taught less than 4 clock hours a week, while 102 or 13.4 per cent taught 19 or more hours a week. The average load was 14.5 clock hours. Teaching loads for colleges accredited by the North Central Association are apparently heavier, the average being 17.0.⁹

⁷ North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *Revised Manual of Accrediting*, Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, 1938, Section II, Table 4.

⁸ The group of large white private colleges included Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia, Stanford, Princeton, Chicago, Vassar, and Wellesley.

⁹ North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *op. cit.*, Table 10.

ANNUAL SALARIES OF TEACHERS ON FULL-TIME APPOINTMENT BASIS

<i>Annual Salary</i>	<i>Number of Teachers</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Under \$500		
\$ 500—\$ 999	78	7.7
1,000— 1,499	326	32.1
1,500— 1,999	299	29.4
2,000— 2,499	182	17.9
2,500— 2,999	65	6.4
3,000— 3,499	20	2.0
3,500— 3,999	8	0.8
4,000— 4,499	10	1.0
4,500— 4,999	3	0.3
5,000 and over	3	0.3
Not given	22	2.2
<hr/>		
Total	1,016	100.0
Average	\$1,756	
Median	\$1,656	

For colleges accredited by the North Central Association, 5.66 per cent of the faculties had less than one year of experience in all.¹⁰ The Negro colleges report fewer inexperienced teachers, the percentage with less than one year of experience being 3.0. The median for the Negro colleges (8.3 years) is, however, less than that for the North Central Association (11.0 years).

Only about 15 per cent of the group have published books. Of the 15 per cent who have published books, 90 or over half have published one book only. Seven of the teachers, however, have published 10 books or more. Most of these publications seem to be within the last five years, since considering only publications of the last five years does not change the proportions much. The average number of books and monographs in the last five years was .273 compared with an average of .461 for colleges accredited by the North Central Association.¹¹

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Table 5.

¹¹ *Ibid*, Table 6.

The annual salaries received by the 1,016 teachers who were serving on a full-time appointment basis are indicated in the table on page 296.

Three of the 1,016 teachers appointed on a full-time basis receive \$5,000 a year; 78 or 7.7 per cent receive less than \$1,000. Johnson's study of Negro college graduates showed that 9.3 per cent of Negro college graduates in the field of college teaching were receiving less than \$1,000 in 1932.¹² Evidently about the same proportion of teachers in Negro colleges were receiving about the same salaries at this low level in 1936-1937. The median salary of the teachers was \$1,650 compared with \$1,838, the median for the group studied by Johnson.

The average salary (\$1,756) was slightly higher than the median, since the distribution of salaries is somewhat asymmetric. The median salary received by teachers in colleges accredited by the North Central Association was \$2,050,¹³ nearly \$400 higher than the median for Negro colleges. The maximum instructional salary for the colleges in the North Central Association was \$10,000, which is well above the salary received by the best paid teacher in any of the Negro colleges.

¹² C. S. Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), pp. 137 and 148.

¹³ North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *op. cit.*, Table 9.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE FOR THE NEGRO¹

FRED DOUGLAS PATTERSON

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The privilege of contacting Negro youth in the past few years reveals about them at least two outstanding facts which seem to characterize their situation today. First, that they are an ambitious lot, very much bewildered by the morass of social and economic confusion extant and by the impasse presented to them as a group. Secondly, that as a result they either are unable to make a decision regarding their vocational choice or, when one is made, it represents a stereotyped veering in the direction of the usual professions without the slightest notions of their probabilities of success.

This has reached such proportions in the face of diminishing employment opportunities for the Negro en masse that it is evident that some effort must be made to clarify the issues involved. The future picture of the social-economic development of the entire Negro group depends on the ability of Negro youth to choose their life's work wisely. To do this they must obviously penetrate the fog created by traditional concepts which hover tenaciously over the areas in which the masses of Negroes have their distribution of employment.

The Negro has been content to identify his fate almost entirely with the general fate of the American people. His idealism has led him to believe that the failure to offer him opportunity in proportion to his ability would somehow suddenly vanish and that a new day was just in the offing. Unquestionably substantial progress has been made, but it is seriously open to question if this progress has been anything like adequate to offset the losses sustained through failure to capitalize in the areas offering employment to the masses

¹ Delivered at the National Association of Personnel Deans and Advisers of Men, April 28, 1938, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

of Negroes. There has been with this idealism, too, the erroneous concept that the Negro by education would somehow vault the entire distance between the mass status characterized by ignorance, poverty, and lowliness of occupation to the desired status of intelligence, adequate wealth, and dignity of occupational opportunity. This attitude has apparently ignored both the unwisdom of such an attempt at group progress and the unlikeliness of its ever occurring. It should be stated again and again that those who through their own ability and the fortuity of circumstances attained the desired professional stature must depend upon a substantial group of producers of wealth if they are to be secure in their eminence. This broad and supporting base of wealth simply cannot be hurdled. Secondly, if it could be there is no evidence to indicate that such opportunities will be forthcoming in anything like the amount needed in the near future.

Many encouraging things are being said and written in the South where eight millions of Negroes are found and where they constitute an important share of the population of the several Southern States as a region, taking advantage of its wonderful resources, both human and material. It is suggested that the South must stop blaming its backwardness on the Civil War and the biracial nature of its population, and that in doing so it forget the former and make the most of the latter. It calls attention to waste of both its human and material resources as being the responsible factor in the equation. It points to the favorable condition of soil fertility on lands not destroyed by erosion, although ninety-seven millions of acres have been partly or totally so destroyed, and it points to the long growing season and the abundant rainfall as evidences of the favor of nature. It also points to a ready supply of abundant labor in the millions of Negroes as well as whites living in the South. These if used wisely are more than adequate to cope with the problems confronting the region, we are told. These things are encouraging to all and particularly to the Negro whose fate in part, and in great

part, depends upon the general realization that he is an integral part of the region and Nation. For as such no program of social and economic development may hope for more than partial success that ignores his share in it. Yet it seems safe to assume that this concept will not dawn or burst forth on the consciousness of the South as a whole to the extent that traditional concepts will vanish overnight.

The Negro must not be content then simply to wait for the evolution of mass thinking that will be required. It will be too long and it may be too late. A people to be reckoned with is a people that will not be stopped—a people that when denied opportunity will find a way or make one. Fortunately there yet remains in the employment opportunities available to the Negro the putty that may be molded in capable hands to the pattern needed to help meet the desired ends. The Negro must not be content to wait and complain only. Both of these are necessary and the patience which he has been able to exhibit under the circumstances that have caused other races to fret themselves out of existence is an enviable quality. Make known the inequities he must, and in many instances we may assume that the Negro has not received more because he has not insistently made his wants known. These values, however, must be combined with a determination to map a complete plan of action which will have as one of its basic components making the most of opportunities which exist. On this point there can be no equivocation and he must not wait. Each day lost in orienting ourselves in the direction of these fleeting opportunities heightens the task that must eventually be faced. The keen competition for all jobs is daily robbing us of opportunities in which we formerly held sway. This same competition is being used as a tool in the hands of organized labor which not only excludes the Negro in great part but is also denying him the opportunity of learning manipulative skills in many areas. The Negro, too, must challenge the waste in terms of human resources which he is permitting to go on through failure

to use his brains to raise the masses of Negro wage earners above the level of ruthless exploitation. There is also a tremendous waste being increasingly involved in turning out from our institutions of learning those who through lack of sound direction are qualified only to enter fields that are relatively overcrowded. Money spent on such individuals is largely wasted unless they have the capacity of adjustment that will allow them to turn to other fields and succeed. Let us face the facts and point out clearly and without apology to these young people the fields and areas of service in which they may not only earn a respectable living, but in doing so will be making a vital attack on the problem of group advancement at a point where it is most needed.

The Negro must adopt the order of the day and plan his own economic and social development. Obviously, this must be done in line with facts rather than fancy. A sane and intelligent approach should not make the job overly difficult. With some 60,000 teachers employed it should not be difficult to determine the number to be replaced each year and in what fields. The annual increase of teachers for extra departments and new schools could be predicted with reasonable accuracy. Charles S. Johnson in his book on *The Negro College Graduate* expressed the opinion that the chief demand in the teaching profession will be replacement from death and the raising of professional standards.

Students come to college and methodically elect high-school education and end up teaching in elementary and rural elementary schools. Many end up not teaching at all. The field of home economics which pays well is undersupplied and offers numerous possibilities for expansion. Should we continue to let our fine youth, clean-cut and upstanding as they are, end up with misdirected ambition thwarted and gravitate into jobs which they deem unworthy? Or should we appeal to their courage and sagacity to break down these frontiers of employment barriers through intelligent study of their possibilities? Is it not time to lessen the gulf that exists

between the educated Negro and his untutored brother? Seventy-five per cent of the employable Negroes are in unskilled work. In this we need more than an academic interest which will simply set out and classify their inadequacies. What is needed is the sort of interest that will convert these inadequacies into assets. For the sake of clarity, it is one thing to know the degree of ignorance existing among Negroes engaged in personal and domestic service, the extent and nature of their illnesses, and the extent to which their meager earnings are ill-spent. Improvement will come, however, when a program of training that will meet their needs is set up in our institutions or given by special classes provided by those prepared in home economics. I commend most highly those beginning ventures in this direction which are meeting with signal success already.

The point, therefore, is that the time has come when we must go to the core of the situation in a manner that will ensure results. Halfhearted and immature efforts will not suffice. Trite and outmoded concepts that have characterized our pattern of stereotyped reactions to these situations must go. Less importance must be attached to the attitudes of others and more to the significance of a procedure destined to build soundly for the long pull ahead.

In all of this the need for a sound program of vocational guidance is indicated. The keen competition for available jobs now being experienced by the more than 2,000 college graduates leaving our colleges annually makes this so. The haphazard drifting which has in large measure characterized career selection in the past must give way to intelligent counseling—counseling that will make available on the precollege level the facts regarding vocational possibilities. This information will face squarely the circumscriptions in terms of employment experienced by the Negro, while at the same time it makes clear the fact that employment barriers have been broken down in unusual occupations by those with the ability to perform and capacity to sacrifice. Such programs of guidance will take

into account social and economic trends with the occupational emphasis involved. The past few years have seen a great stimulus to the field of social work. The mechanization of industry and the shorter working day are destined to be a great boon to recreational work and to service occupations. The increased urbanization of Negroes and the maldistribution of professional services which are inadequate at best are factors the guidance program must consider. Such a program of counseling should not merely point to desirable occupations but should help students to eliminate the chaff from their program of studies so that the most valuable use could be made of their time. It is significant that many college graduates find themselves unable to relate much of their undergraduate instruction to the jobs they are doing. For example, studies show that more than 50 per cent of those who have gone into medicine failed to major in one of the natural sciences. These subjects are generally recognized as basic to medicine. Likewise, not a fourth of those in insurance have majored in economics and business courses.

I would depict, therefore, a sort of Utopia to result from a concerted attack on the problems of vocational adjustment. The Utopia referred to in this instance is one with a sort of earthly tinge—one that predicts possibilities in terms of human frailties and assumes that past attitudes in regard to the Negro have predictable value in indicating the rate and the method by which change for the better will come. Possibilities are suggested in addition to those that will be attained from forces already at work—possibilities to be expected in and of themselves as a result of a planned and directed economy by the Negro as a means of facilitating the improvement of his social and economic status from within.

As one who finds traveling necessary and frequent, physical comfort is suggested in the hope for the existence, where necessary, of restaurants in which a meal may be obtained without affront to one's sensibilities—restaurants that, through the aid of experts in interior decoration located in our educational institutions, will be

beautiful without being expensive. They will serve foods that are wholesome and prepared in a manner that is palatable, for they will be operated by persons who have learned in school commercial food preparation and service. Patrons will be treated with courtesy without familiarity. The dress of employees and the condition of the surroundings will suggest cleanliness and good taste. The owners of such well-run establishments with a reputation for good food may frequently find demands for their products so strong by whites as to indicate the desirability of conducting branch establishments for this patronage. It has happened in instances less commendatory than that suggested above.

Small and modest hostelries with the same general qualifications as the restaurants referred to above will also offer a friendly welcome to the Negro transient. There charges will need to be commensurate with the accommodations offered and there will be an appreciation of this fact on the part of sufficient intelligent Negroes to justify the outlay. More and more through increased travel by motor and train the strain of throwing homes open to the wayfarer is being felt and the strain of being so entertained is little less burdensome. I hope those who have been hospitable to me in this wise will take no offense.

Each city of any size in the South and many outside of the South will boast one or more landscape gardeners or architects who will have charge of several large estates that will be serviced with a crew of men. Many of these will operate nurseries and greenhouses in conjunction. Here their patronage will be without respect to color and their claim to this patronage will be their knowledge of the intricate details of the business gained through technical studies offered in curricula for this purpose.

There will be in these same cities college-trained men as building superintendents, who will have under them a corps of workers. These men will be thoroughly prepared for their jobs, for their training will be broad.

Manipulative skills will be taught in a comprehensive way and on the doing level. Such an individual will be a carpenter, locksmith, plumber, steam engineer, and an electrician all in one. He will know how to handle men and will be conscious of their health, home life, and character as efficiency factors. Like men I know now, these building superintendents will be community leaders who rank in influence and service with any other profession.

There will be in these same cities trained Negro chefs who because of their training will be assets to their employers and the pride of their community. Here and there will be really creative men who will be thought and spoken of with the respect given to Oscar at the Waldorf Astoria. Through their contributions the pride of American hotels will be American food; and tourists from Europe will cherish the culinary offerings for these reasons. Thousands of young men and women shall find desirable vocational outlet because they will command respect and satisfactory conditions of employment through their ability.

There will flow into the pockets of the Negro millions of dollars otherwise lost through the conquering of these frontiers. This increased wealth will make possible more doctors, lawyers, nurses, and ministers of proper training because they can be supported. There will, therefore, be less disease and suffering with their consequent cost.

Efforts in other areas will break down employment barriers and a race of sufficient self-respect and purchasing power will not be so easily discriminated against. The talented youngster in literature, and in art, will get a better chance. In brief, a cycle that is now viciously holding the Negro in a treadmill of mediocrity will be substituted by a cycle that sets in motion a series of advantages which shall bring new heights of progress as it gains momentum.

The lot of the 1,500,000 of Negroes, mostly women, working in personal and domestic service will also be improved, for there will be graduates of home economics in each city where numbers in this

group are employed, whose jobs it will be to see to it that they present higher qualifications and consequently receive better wages. This will be done through special instruction given in a small, modern set-up furnished by the local business people, who will profit by this increased experience in purchasing materials and home equipment and in the preparation of foodstuffs.

The War, the depression, and the continued lean rations on which the Nation has existed in the past few years have eventuated into a period of self-study that has revealed facts that are both significant and interesting. It is said now that the heyday of prosperity was not the normal situation we regarded it to be. And that, far from being the result of man's prowess, it was due as much to the compensation of errors as anything else. Efforts to check up have revealed that side by side with the development of a first-ranking agricultural and industrial civilization there has been a prodigal waste of resources both human and material that has reached staggering proportions. It is suggested that with the frontiers of natural wealth either largely destroyed or seriously diminished the new frontiers America must face are the areas of barrenness and human degradation which must be penetrated and developed through the intelligent application of all of the sciences and social forces at man's disposal.

The development of the Negro since 1865 as purely a group phenomenon parallels the general situation, for here, too, a phenomenal growth has been characterized by waste—waste first in failure to lift the Negro in the occupations furnishing the bulk of employment opportunities; waste in failing to prepare more satisfactorily the large number of school age who fail to continue their education through the college level; waste of training to be seen in those individuals with professional preparation engaged in pursuits which, if not menial, certainly are ones for which no scholastic preparation was necessary. These employment areas are rapidly becoming barren so far as the Negro is concerned, through competition on the one hand and neglect on the other. As such they have become fron-

tiers that must be conquered if this waste is to be stopped and the richness of human resources remaining are to be developed. It may not be amiss, then, if the Negro realizes his responsibility not alone in this general pattern, but if he also realizes that these occupations referred to, which are offering 95 per cent of the employment opportunities which the Negro has, constitute for him one of the frontiers that must be conquered if a satisfactory economy for the entire Negro race is to be approached.

Many of those who are inclined to predict the Negro's future based on past efforts find much room for pessimism because of the massiveness of big business and giant industries. The pressure of competition is seen and realized. There are, however, many times the number of small businesses as large, and the difficulties involved are not particularly racial. The point here to be made is that the Negro has not done an honest part by the small business. Obviously, this is the place to start. Let us be "faithful over a few things" before lamenting the impossibility of the "many things."

There is great need for vocational guidance in colleges for Negroes—vocational guidance that will point to the frontiers resident in occupations firmly established but long neglected, and guidance of a virile sort that will reveal the opportunities now dormant in areas as not yet unexplored which offer to those of vision, initiative, and the capacity for hard work the same limitless possibilities presented to those hardy pioneers who founded this nation. The time was never more ripe for harnessing the buying power of millions of Negroes. It is likewise rich in its possibilities for engaging the buying power of the general population regardless of race. A hardy people is one that thrives on adversity and in doing so will be capable of turning the apparent barrenness of economic opportunity and the chance for social expression to good account.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects will be welcomed.

INSTITUTE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

An Institute on Higher Education was proposed by the Commission on Higher Education of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes at their meeting in the fall of 1938 and 1937. A grant from the General Education Board in the spring of 1938 made possible the holding of the Institute in the summer of this year from June 13 to July 1 at Fisk University under the sponsorship of the Southern Association and the directorship of Dr. Floyd B. O'Rear. The Institute was limited to deans and registrars, and, with one or two exceptions, to representatives of the Class A colleges of the Southern Association.

Some of the most significant discussion centered around the kind of college which is desirable in the pattern of Southern Negro education. In this discussion it was emphasized that each college should select its own goals and purposes. These goals and purposes, chosen so as to utilize fully and economically the available human and material resources and so as to eliminate wasteful competition, should be related to the needs of the students, progressively preparing them for usefulness. The Institute, recognizing that our colleges are handicapped by segregation, economic disadvantages, lack of public support, low level of support, unsatisfactory conditions in elementary and secondary schools, and by rapidity of growth, recommended as absolutely essential voluntary coöperation and coördination in an inventory of resources among seniors, publicity, student-contact services, and curricular offerings. Increasing emphasis upon areas now neglected was recommended. It was proposed that the college should help students most in regard to health, choosing a vocation, understanding and getting along with his fellows, teaching him how to play sanely and safely with a minimum of effort, manipulating things, forming judgments of value, the art of writing, reading, speaking, and

observing. In rendering this help the college should functionally serve the student in the following areas: (a) keeping well; (b) improving personal routine; (c) determining goals of living; (d) widening horizons of knowing, of exploration of what are facts; (e) creation and invention; (f) use of leisure and recreation; (g) earning a livelihood; (h) using one's income; (i) mating and rearing a family; and (j) living and working together in groups. To facilitate realization of these functions it was suggested that the college staff should be organized into seminars, forums, or convocations, one for each of these ten fields with provisions made for diagnostic clinics, laboratories, counseling and advisory service, and community services. The methods of organizing such a seminar were also outlined. Significant discussions were also held embracing college aims and goals, providing financial, health, food, housing, and social services to students, methods of challenging and guiding students, functions of the dean and registrar, and the qualities to be sought in faculty members.

Arrangements for the Institute were made by a committee, consisting of Mr. Fred McCuistion, Dr. J. A. Robinson, and Dr. H. F. Smith in consultation with Mr. Leo Favrot. Faculty members of the Institute, aside from the director and members of the arranging committee, included H. M. Bond, Doak S. Campbell, A. L. Kidd, V. E. Daniel, S. H. Adams, J. W. Barco, A. Elder, and Theresa Wilkins. W. R. Banks served as chairman for the forum on Problems of College Administration. Colleges represented were Agricultural and Teachers College of North Carolina, Barber-Scotia, Bennett, Clark, Dillard, Fisk, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Fort Valley, Johnson C. Smith, LeMoyne, North Carolina College, Prairie View College, Tuskegee, Virginia Union, Wiley, and Xavier.

VOCATIONAL CHOICES AND OPPORTUNITIES AS DETERMINANTS OF CURRICULA CONSTRUCTION

The problem undertaken for study by Dr. Joseph F. Drake, President of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical Institute, Normal, Alabama, was the "Occupational Interests and Opportunities as Determinants in the Construction of Curricula for a Negro Land-Grant College in Alabama." He took the State of Alabama, and studied 1,300 high-school seniors attending school in seven of the nine geographic regions of Alabama. He found that high-school enrollment had increased 100 per cent

in the twenty-year period, 1917 to 1937; that actual occupations had shifted from those of grandfathers and fathers with the closest relationship remaining in agricultural pursuits. This was attributed to the increased industrialization in Alabama. Occupational interests of the boys showed a preponderance of choices in the professional field and academic teaching and nursing for girls. Forty-three and nine-tenths per cent of the girls and 39.9 per cent of the boys based their selection of occupation upon "interest in vocation"; 23.9 per cent of the boys and 13.8 per cent of the girls chose certain occupations because of "adaptability." "Influence of parents" was an almost negligible factor for both sexes. The educational plans revealed that 60.6 per cent of the boys and 49.7 per cent of the girls intended to go to college for four years. The smaller percentage among girls was explained by less stringent educational requirements for occupational choices of girls, such as nursing and beauty culture.

Actual work opportunities for Negroes in Alabama had shifted. He found a decrease in farm ownership and an increase in farm tenancy, a decline in hand trades, and a significant increase in manufacturing and mechanical trades. The questioning of 61 employers of skilled labor revealed that approximately half reported "lack of special technical training" as their most important reasons for not employing Negroes in skilled positions, and another 22 per cent feared public opinion chiefly.

The following general recommendations were outlined for the entire program of vocational education: (1) "to provide experiences that will give the individual ability and skill in selecting appropriate raw materials, and the ability to change those raw materials into a more useful form; (2) the ability to use and care for the necessary tools of the trade; (3) an appreciation for a high standard of performance and for a high quality of finished product; (4) the ability to sense and interpret vocational trends, and to adapt one's self to changes of processes; and (5) the ability to understand the basic principles of machines useful to the trade, and the ability to adapt the machine to one's purposes, and one's self to the mechanism of the machine." The following intensive suggestions were discussed for curricula in agriculture, home economics, and mechanic arts: (1) Agriculture Group I, which consisted of individuals who plan to exchange in some form of agricultural pursuits, should be given experiences that would develop ability to manage successfully general farm enterprises, as well as specialized phases of industry. Group II, which consisted of special groups already engaged in farming enterprises, should

be given courses during "dull seasons" on the farm, should be exposed to intensive demonstration, and given adequate practice for gaining necessary skills. Group III, which was composed of persons who demonstrated interest, ability, experience, and aptitude to teach in the field of agricultural education, should receive the advantages of an effective program of teacher training which could be set up with the coöperation of the State Department of Vocational Education. (2) Home Economics: These recommendations included the preparation of all girls for the responsibilities of homemaking, courses in specialized phases of home economics or related industries, the training of persons showing possibilities of becoming successful teachers of home economics, and special short courses for those already employed in personal and domestic service. (3) Mechanic Arts: The immediate objectives set forth included the training of individuals to engage successfully in those trades which appear from the study to have occupational possibilities, such as auto mechanics, brick-masonry, carpentry, painting, plumbing, and the like; the placement of all student campus jobs under the mechanic-arts division, and the utilization of these jobs as a part of a training laboratory in vocational education; and the training of industrial-arts teachers after more intensive study has been made concerning the need for such teachers in the State, and the necessary physical equipment and teaching personnel have been provided at the college.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE

The history of the Negro college graduate in America begins in 1826, the year in which John Russwurm, the first of this group, was graduated from Bowdoin College in the State of Maine. During the next twenty years seven more were graduated from recognized colleges, and by 1860 there were twenty-eight. By 1936 the number had increased to 43,821, but still remained less than one per cent of the total adult Negro population. The great majority of this number (74 per cent) accumulated since 1914, and there were more Negroes graduated from college for the period from 1926 to 1936 than during the entire century which preceded.

The first graduates were from northern institutions, as Negro colleges had not sufficiently developed. Of the total number of graduates from 1826 to 1936, 6,424 or 14.7 per cent came from northern colleges and 37,397 or 85.3 per cent from Negro colleges. The rate of increase since 1914 has been approximately the same for both groups, with the Negro

colleges holding a slight edge. This rate has been high in recent years for both bachelor's degrees and graduate degrees, the northern schools, of course, granting the majority of the latter.

There were at least 67 master's degrees and two doctorates conferred on Negroes prior to 1886, while from 1914 to 1936 there were 1,476 master's degrees, of which 1,114 (75.5 per cent) were obtained at northern universities. From 1876, when the first doctorate was received by a Negro, to 1936, there were 153 doctors of philosophy, 139 being men and 14 being women.

Professional degrees granted to Negroes do not show the increase characteristic of the academic field. On the contrary, there has been a marked decline, particularly in recent years; *i.e.*, since 1923, and this decline is apparent in both Negro and northern colleges and in all the professions.

These trends in Negro higher education are, on the whole, similar to those in higher education in general; *viz.*, the liberal-arts graduates are increasing at a high rate, while the graduates in the old-established professions show a tendency to decline.

The largest numbers of Negro college graduates tend to be found in the Southern States and States where there are separate Negro schools, there being about 74.6 per cent of all Negro graduates in these States and the greatest concentration of college graduates seems to be in the border States. The South has two thirds of the college and professional graduates, the North not quite a third, while the West and foreign countries have 1.5 per cent of the total.

Southern-born graduates tend to remain in the South and migrate to the North in slightly smaller proportions than northern-born graduates migrate to the South. Two thirds of the western-born graduates go to the South or North and twice as many foreign-born graduates go North as go South. In general, the southern-born group shows somewhat less mobility than the others.

The proportion of college graduates unmarried is greater than the proportion of the Negro population 15 years of age and over. In 1930, the general Negro population showed 27.7 per cent single, a divorce rate for males amounting to 1.4 per cent of the marriageable population and for women 2.2 per cent, while there were 39.7 per cent of the college graduates single, and the divorce rate was 2.1 per cent for men and 2.2 per cent for women. The families of parents of college graduates are very much

larger than the families of these graduates, but this decline in the size of families is found in the general population. These graduates have tended to come from families in which the parents had some formal education and this tendency is increasing. The family stimulus for entering college has shifted somewhat from the desire for elevation of social prestige to a more immediately utilitarian end.

The great majority of college graduates has entered the professional fields, with teaching far out of proportion to the others, even where the college has been along vocational lines. Doctors and dentists rank next to teaching in number and there are large numbers of postal employees. About three per cent are ministers, 3.6 per cent lawyers, 2.7 per cent social-welfare workers or executives, 1.3 per cent musicians, and 0.4 per cent in the technical fields of science and engineering. The proportion of professionally employed graduates in the South is greater than that of the North. There are 207 different occupations in which the men are engaged and the women, including housewives, engage in 103 occupations. The most profitable occupation is in the field of transportation and communication (postal employees), professional work ranks second, public service and trade next, and domestic service and agriculture least of all. The difference in the income level under \$500 is not great between college graduates and the general population, but from \$500 and upward the college graduates exceed the average, and at the \$2,000 level are twice as numerous as the others, increasing still more as the category of income increases. Occupational aspirations of the Negro population in general are much higher than the actual occupational accomplishments, when the vocational choices of high-school students are compared with the number of college graduates and the occupations in which the general Negro population finds employment.

The most complete social self-expression for Negroes is found first within the Negro group itself, where there is freedom of movement from one place of culture to another, where the social isolation of the group makes necessary a social life of its own. Within this world there is demand for professionals and executives. However, a liberal-arts education amounts frequently and essentially to a break with the familiar folk traditions of the group. With the increasing numbers of such individuals there has developed a nucleus within the group itself whose standards and values are but little, if any, different from those of the corresponding class in the surrounding society. Such identity of culture both increases

the range of participation in the life of the community and raises new problems.

Negro college graduates constitute a very large proportion of the Negroes who make significant contributions to the development of the Negro group and to American life generally.

Leadership in the Negro group has in the past been largely confined to the church, and the church remains today one of the most important institutions serving the group. College education tends to create intolerance of the manner of worship characteristic of the masses of Negroes, so that the Negro college graduate might be expected to manifest less enthusiasm for the church. There has actually been a decline in the number of persons making college preparation for the ministry as well as a defection in church membership among younger graduates, but this trend is common to American college students generally. Negro college graduates are well represented among the members and leaders of the church, there being approximately more than half of them avowing some type of affiliation with the church.

The social and civic groups of the Negro communities, except those working for civil liberties, do not hold much attraction for college graduates, but these college people show a proportion greatly in excess of the general Negro population and of the American population as a whole in the expression of opinion through the ballot.

One hundred five out of a sample of 5,212 Negro college graduates have published 178 books. Eleven of these authors are women and the majority of the group are employed in educational institutions.

Variation from custom on racial matters and social innovations as well as constructive contributions to social adjustments come most frequently from college graduates than from the Negro group in general.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rhythmic Responses of Negro and White Children Two to Six With Special Focus on Regulated and Free Rhythm Situations, by DOROTHY VAN ALSTYNE AND EMILY OSBORNE. Washington, D. C.: National Research Council, Society for Research in Child Development, I, No. 4, Serial No. II.

This monograph presents the results of a most interesting and important piece of research. The authors tested 483 children, half Negro and half white, between 2½ and 6½ years of age. Recording the results of the tests in such a manner as to make exact scoring possible, the authors scored these children on several variations of two basic tests. One test consisted of the child's beating of blocks in time with a mechanically produced pattern. This was called regulated rhythm. The other, the child's ability to reproduce that pattern after he had heard it. This was called free rhythm. By the test in regulated rhythm, the authors were able to demonstrate the superiority of the Negro children tested over the white children by about 50 per cent, with the greater difference occurring in the younger age groups. By the test in free rhythm, they demonstrated that the Negro children were superior in the simpler patterns, but were about equal in the more complicated ones. The authors concluded that Negro children were better able to keep time than whites but not as superior in reproducing patterns heard. Questionnaires given parents of the children indicated greater rhythmic training by participation in singing and simple dancing on the part of the Negro children. The authors raise the questions: whether this is due to the greater inherent capacity of the child, or the carrying forth of a cultural group pattern by the parents, or the possibility that both answers are correct.

The authors observe that the free rhythm test was easier for all the children; that is, more superior results were obtained by this test than by the regulated rhythm test. This is, I believe, a most important finding. Its implication in the teaching of children's rhythms is apparent. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the testing of rhythmic responses of children by measuring their ability to keep time with some stimulus is but one part of the analysis of the whole rhythmic appreciation and response of the child.

The authors also indicate the ages at which children might be expected

to become successful in the "keeping-time" process, and observe that the Negro children show this ability six months to two years earlier than the whites depending on the rapidity of the pattern being given. This study indicates the need for more work on the subject of rhythmic response, for while it demonstrates that part of our child population is superior to another part, we still know very little about that capacity called rhythmic response, or what it is that makes for successful performance by one group and less successful performance by another.

The Community School, edited by SAMUEL EVERETT. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938, 487 pages.

Educators who believe that the school program should be an integral part of the processes of everyday living of the whole community will find in this volume a series of thrilling reports of such programs in action in a wide variety of community situations. In reading this excellent treatise you are constantly meeting up with fundamental educational and social issues requiring acceptance or modification—for example, the public schools should be concerned with the improvement of community living and the improvement of the social order; and, again, the curriculum should center around major problems and areas of community living instead of the aims of academic subjects. This is another scholarly and practical contribution of the Society for Curriculum Study prepared by the Committee on the Community School.

Needed Population Research, by P. K. WHELPTON. Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press Printing Company, 1938, 196 pages.

This stimulating report shows the inadequacy of existing population knowledge, extensive as it is, and challenges to more intensive research in all of the major phases of population problems, including forecasts and estimates, official statistics, fertility and fecundity, mortality, migration, optimum size and quality of the population. Special emphasis is laid upon the need for research in (a) the various motives leading couples to use contraceptives, (b) the present distribution of the population in relation to life opportunities, (c) the changes taking place in the heredity make-up of the population. The present situation of the Nation makes this challenge, by a recognized authority, exceedingly timely.

Malnutrition the Medical Octopus, by JOHN PRESTON SUTHERLAND.
Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1937, 368 pages.

Among the new interests of the twentieth century no one has received more attention than that of diet. This interest has been aroused by the developing science of nutrition which has led to fads, many of which have been discarded as worthless. Food and drug venders have seized upon investigations into the bodily effects of foods and have exploited the public. The discovery that unbalanced diets are capable of producing many disorders or illnesses, such as beri-beri, pellagra, rickets, scurvy, diabetes, and others have led to overemphasis of the value of certain elements in the diet and gave commercial interests their cue to exploit a trusting and uneducated public. It is no wonder that with advanced material culture and civilization the prevalence and variety of disease has increased, and no doubt food fads have contributed to this unwholesome situation.

In the face of this situation it is encouraging to find a student of food problems over a long period presenting the results of intensive scientific study in a sane, well-balanced volume which ought to go a long way toward restoring sanity to diet practices and counteract the efforts of commercial interests in exploiting the public. We are deeply indebted to the author of this book for his sane contribution.

Crime and the Community, by FRANK TANNENBAUM. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1938, 478 pages.

The steady increase in the amount and variety of crime and particularly the fact that the age of maximum crime commitment has been gradually lowered in recent years has aroused the interest of the public in the problem of crime. The crime situation has also aroused the interest of students, commission, and organizations, and we have had a flood of researches and publications come from the press. Among the volumes dealing with this problem the one under review makes a significant contribution. The book is important both for the selection of the topics treated and for the care and intelligence with which the facts are presented. The fact that such topics as "Social Forces in the Development of Crime," "Education for Crime," "Organized Crime," and "Politics and Crime" are discussed makes this volume necessary for the sociologist and educator, and of importance to the intelligent layman.

A Comparative Study of the Behavior of Students Under an Honor System and a Proctor System in the Same University, by WILLIAM GILES CAMPBELL. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California Press, 1935.

The book shows that students prefer the honor system in theory though they voted to discontinue it in practice. It reveals student opinion as to extensive practice of cheating under proctor system, though this system, as here described, appears weakly administered. The review of other studies in this same area is thoroughly done and constitutes a valuable contribution. The issues at stake, administratively, are clearly set forth. It constitutes a valuable contribution in a field deserving of wider attention.

The American Mind, by HARRY R. WARFEL, RALPH H. GABRIEL, AND STANLEY T. WILLIAMS. New York: American Book Company, 1937, 1,520 pages.

This book represents for the first time in American literature how American literary progress reflects American intellectual development. Therefore, the purpose and method differ widely from the conventional anthologies which present literary types, groups of authors, periods of literary development, and the like. While the authors are concerned with the selection of literary masterpieces, they are even more interested in presenting the authors and works that will clarify the changing concepts of religion, political independence, democracy, economics, humanitarian living, education, etc.

The value of this book, moreover, is twofold; namely, its completeness, for no partial presentation would be adequate, and its selection with emphasis upon American intellectual life. The authors have succeeded to an unusual degree in the realization of the purposes and have made a contribution which the educational profession will appreciate.

Adult Education, A Dynamic for Democracy, by DOROTHY HEWITT AND KIRTLEY F. MATHER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937, 193 pages.

There are so many good things to say about this book that it is difficult to classify them and to begin the review. In the first place, the book is

unusually well written; that is, for a book on education. It has a literary style and it is charmingly simple. Layman and educator will enjoy it and understand it.

The first two chapters are philosophical and the philosophy is sound. The third and fourth chapters are devoted to analysis of the community and of adult interests. They represent sound thinking, but the topics deserve further analysis. The next five chapters are replete with practical considerations and suggestions. No one directing a program of adult education can afford to disregard the excellent advice these chapters contain. The tenth and last chapter deals with leadership in a challenging manner. The bibliography is valuable because of its obvious evidence of careful selection.

Any one with the slightest interest in adult education should read this book. Any one trying to develop and administer a program of adult education should reread it until its direct suggestions and implications become a pattern of habitual action.

Community Backgrounds of Education, by LLOYD ALLEN COOK.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938, 385 pages.

Perhaps no interest in education and in an approach to the study of the educational program is more marked or active at the present time than that of educational sociology. Moreover, educational sociology itself is undergoing a distinct transformation. Beginning in the philosophy of education in the emphasis of Dewey, Suzallo, and Kilpatrick, it has gradually veered toward a scientific subject matter until today it is definitely committed to a socio-scientific approach to education and is utilizing researches that have been made in sociology and is developing a body of research on its own account as basic to educational administration, method, school organization, and measurement. With this emphasis the subject is destined to take an important place in educational reconstruction.

This volume is concerned with a single aspect of educational sociology, *i.e.*, social backgrounds, but it is no less significant on that account. In fact it is because it selects a single aspect and presents a carefully organized body of facts, specifically interpreted, that it has unusual value for the educator. It is a contribution in the field that no sociologist or educator can afford to omit from his library.

Problems and Values of Today, a series of student's guidebooks for the study of contemporary life, by EUGENE HILTON, illustrated by RUTH TAYLOR. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938, Volume I, 639 pages.

This "series of guidebooks to broad basic units, determined by exhaustive research" (p. ix), covers ten units, two of which are more or less introductory in character; viz., *We and Our World* and *Appraising Our Sources of Information*. Those which follow are effectively phrased and represent a carefully planned attack upon such problems as the suffrage, health and safety, wealth, consumption and budgeting, and our foreign relations. The author's effort to draw upon "the practical phases of history, economics, civics, and sociology" (*ibid.*) in which he depends upon a large number of "exercises" scattered throughout the book bears all the earmarks of having been set up under classroom conditions. The cartoons and illustrations add much to its effectiveness.

The Study Hall, by HANNAH LOGASA. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, 190 pages.

And Lo, the Poor Indian. Yes, the study hall bears about the same relationship to the rest of the school as the Indian did to the rest of the country in early times. It is true, also, that the study hall has been the place for war whoops and yells, yet, with the change in our philosophy of education, time spent in the study hall (in many cases it cannot be eliminated) can carry a richer educational experience for boys and girls.

In this book, the author considers such problems as: the study hall as a programming service; its control, organization, and methods of improving study; types of pupil behavior and methods of improvement of such behavior; potential study-hall values; the library study hall. It should be noted that these problems are treated on the basis of a practical philosophy of education.

There has been a definite need for a thoroughgoing treatment of the study hall and teachers and administrators having a connection with the study hall should benefit considerably by applying the suggestions contained therein. Although the book is well written, such mistakes as noted in reference two, page twenty-two, should be corrected before the next printing.

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